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PALLAVA
ANTIQUITIES

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G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

V.S. SWAMINADHA DIKSHITAR

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOI. II

(With 8 Plates)



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VOL. II.

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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PREFACE.

The author of this work, having been called to serve in the army and being therefore obliged to leave India shortly, regrets that Vol. II of "Pallava Antiquities" stands, owing to force of circumstances, reduced to a few pages.

I have, however, thought it necessary to publish it, because a study of the antiquities of the dynasty of Nandivarman constitutes an essential part of the work I have undertaken. We do not, in fact, know of any Pallava antiquity anterior to the year 600 A.D. As the Pallavas were succeeded by the Chôlas only about 900, the Pallava Antiquities belong to the period between A.D. 600 and 900. And in Vol. I of "Pallava Antiquities," we have spoken only of the antiquities that belong to the first half of this period, that is, A.D. 600 to 750. What was then the nature of Pallava art in the second half of the above period, *i.e.*, from 750 to 900? That is the question we have treated in this book.

I must here inform the reader, that, during the year that has passed since the publication of Vol. I of this work, I have written two small books which, I think, must be read in order to understand this one.

In my work on “Dravidian Architecture,” (edited with Preface and Notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Professor, Madras University ; printed at the S. P. C. K. Press, Vepery, Madras, 1917) I have tried to show the place occupied by the Pallava art in the general evolution of South Indian Architecture.

In “The Pallavas” (Pondicherry, 1917) I have tried to co-ordinate all that we know concerning the Pallavas with a view to establishing a complete genealogy of those kings and giving the outlines of their history.

Vol. II of “Pallava Antiquities” forms a necessary complement to those researches.

I take this occasion to thank M. R. Ry. V. S. Swaminatha Dikshitar who has done the translation, as well as Rev. Brother Joseph and Rev. Brother Paul of the Society of Jesus, who kindly had the book printed at the St. Joseph’s Industrial School Press, Trichinopoly.

I wish, that, when the success of our arms would have brought us a glorious peace, I could return to India to continue these studies that are so dear to me.

PONDICHERRY,
30th December 1917. }

G. JOUVEAU - DUBREUIL.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE DYNASTY OF NANDIVARMAN.

In Vol. I of 'Pallava Antiquities,' I have studied exclusively the antiquities that could be attributed to the epoch of the dynasty of Simhavishṇu. It was then admitted that the fall of the dynasty of Simhavishṇu had produced a great anarchy in the Pallava empire and that a new dynasty, that of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, profited by these disturbances and gradually preponderated; Nandivarman Pallavamalla had a short and troublous reign and his successors were deprived of almost all the patrimony of the Pallavas. The Gaṅga-Pallava epoch extends from the death of Pallavamalla to the conquest of Âditya, but our knowledge of its history was very small. This period (from 750 to 900 A.D.), of a century and a half (the second half of the eighth and the whole of the ninth century) is the Gaṅga-Pallava epoch; and in a work devoted to the Pallavas the question of the Gaṅga-Pallava antiquities did not arise.

I have shown in my book "The Pallavas" that the Vâyalûr inscription proves that the Gaṅga-Pallava theory is false and that we must admit the theory of M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, according to which the so-called Gaṅga-Pallavas were only the Pallavas of the dynasty of Nandivarman.

Contrary to what has been believed up to the present, these princes were powerful and glorious. Their empire extended from Kâlahasti in the north to Pudukôṭṭa in the south and they had contended, many a time, victoriously, against the Pândyas.

From an architectural point of view, it is specially interesting to study this epoch as it forms the transition period between the Siṁhavishṇu and the Chôḷa dynasties: in Vol. I of “Pallava Antiquities” we have studied the style of Râjasimha which dates from about 700 A.D. Besides, in my work on “Dravidian Architecture,” I have given a description of the temple of Dâdâpuram (*Vide* Dravidian Architecture, fig. 26) which contains an inscription of Râjarâja and can be considered as a good type of the “Early Chôḷa” style at the end of the X century. It was therefore necessary to define exactly the style that was employed at the end of the Pallava period; so, I asked myself: “Which are the temples that date from the dynasty of Nandivarman, that is, from 720 to 900?” and it is this important question that I propose to handle.

We shall divide the subject into two parts: I. Antiquities that do not bear any inscriptions of the dynasty of Nandivarman; II. Antiquities bearing inscriptions of that dynasty.

Section I. Antiquities without inscriptions.

A) Certain temples that do not bear any Pallava inscription, perhaps belong to the time of the Nandivarman dynasty. Such are: the temple of Kailâsanâtha at Tiruppattûr (*Vide* G. O. No. 574, 17th July 1908.—Part II, No. 9, p. 60 and photos nos. 89 to 91 of Appendix

D); the Jain temple of Varthamânasvâmi at Tirupparruttikunru near Conjeevaram, (Photos Nos. C. 27 and C. 28, Class C of the collections of Madras Archæological Survey).

The maṇḍapam that is found before the cave dug in the rock at Śīyamaṅgalam is probably the one which, according to inscription No. 68 of 1900, was built in the 21st year of the reign of Nandivikramavarman. However since the inscription is not engraved on the maṇḍapam, but on the rock of the cave built by Mahêndravarmān I, one cannot be positive about the date of this building.

In this list, I would place the Kailâsanâthâ temple at Uttaramallûr. This temple is almost entirely built of brick and bears only one inscription of Râjêndra-Chôḷa (No. 56 of 1898). But when I visited Uttaramallûr, I discovered that the above temple belongs to a style much anterior to that of the time of Râjêndra-Chôḷa and can be put in the category of Pallava temples. However, owing to the uncertainty of the age of these temples, none of them can be taken as typical of the style of the dynasty of Nandivarman.

B) A few temples do not probably belong to the Pallava period, though certain marks would lead us to think otherwise.

The temple of Pallavanêśvara at Pallavanêśvaram (Śâyâvanam) near Kâvirippattinam is not a Pallava structure as one might believe judging from its name.

The temple of Kailâsanâthâ at Âlambâkkam founded by Dantivarman (*G. O.* No. 665, 28th July 1910, Part II, No. 7, p. 71) was probably rebuilt during the Chôḷa period (*Vide* photo No. 14, *G. O.* No. 665, 28th July 1910, Appendix D, page 62).

There is, in the village of Ukkal, a temple containing very ancient Chôla inscriptions in which the village is called Aparâjita-Chaturvêdimaṅgalam; one may therefore believe that the temple is of the time of the Pallava king Aparâjita. I therefore went to see this temple and found that the major portion of it had disappeared. There yet remains only the lower portion which is covered with inscriptions but is not at all an interesting piece of architecture.

The temple of Chandramauḷîśvara at Brahmadêśam, which, M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri says (Report for 1916, Part II, No. 8), is probably a Pallava one, is in reality a fine specimen of the "Early Chôla" style.

Lastly, the temple of Veṅkatêsa - Perumal, which, M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastri says "must be traced to the time of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nṛipatuṅga," does not surely belong to that epoch, as I have been able to ascertain during my visit to that place.

Section II. Antiquities with inscriptions.

A) A few antiquities contain inscriptions of the dynasty of Nandivarmān, but they are not written in the alphabet of that period and are therefore only copies; they are the following: No. 1, a of 1890 (Nṛipatuṅga, 17th year); Nos. 460 and 461 of 1905 (Nṛipatuṅga, 11th and 15th years); No. 199 of 1907 (Nandi), No. 48 of 1914 (Nandi, 22nd year). The inscriptions No. 150 of 1916 at Poyyanur and No. 152 of 1916 at Kîlpulam which are dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Vayiramêga, have been attributed to the Pallavas (Report for 1916, Part II, No. 7, p. 115). However, the alphabet of these inscriptions is almost modern and

it is not possible to date them in the time of the dynasty of Nandivarman.

B) Certain inscriptions are engraved on unsculptured rocks ; they are : No. 76 of 1889 ; No. 10 of 1895 ; No. 304 of 1897 ; No. 73 of 1900 ; Nos. 295, 296, 297, 300, 302, and 303 of 1902 ; No. 529 of 1905 ; No. 82 of 1908 ; No. 88 of 1910 ; No. 283 of 1916,

These inscriptions are useful only from a historical point of view and in no way help the archæologist in the discovery of Pallava monuments. We must however make an exception in the case of inscription No. 529 of 1905 which is engraved on the rock by the side of the Śiva Temple, at Tiruvallārai, that is cut in the same rock. We may therefore presume that both the cave and the inscription are contemporaneous, without however being quite sure of it.

I have visited this spot. The cave is very simple, destitute of ornamentation and does not offer much architectural interest ; it may be attributed to the same epoch as the inscription, that is, to the reign of Danti-varman.

C) A very large number of inscriptions are of no use to the archæologist, as they are engraved either on isolated stones or on stones that have been used in the reconstruction of buildings. In the latter case the edifice is not of the same date as the inscription. Such are : Nos. 27, 54 and 55 of 1887 ; 12 of 1895 ; 7 and 8 of 1896 ; 11 and 17 of 1899 ; 226, 228, 229 and 234 of 1903 ; 262 of 1904 ; 394 and 397 of 1905 ; 180 of 1907 ; 68, 351 and 352 of 1908 ; 349 of 1911 ; 31, 32, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 180, 190, 257 and 417 of 1912 ; 179 of 1915 ; and an inscription of Nandippôttaraśar at Mallam registered in 1908.

We may place in this category inscription No. 541 of 1905 which is engraved on a well at Tiruvellarai ; this well has however been repaired either before or during the year 1262-63 (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, Part II, No. 4, page 62).

We have mentioned in the above list only those inscriptions that are distinctly stated in the Reports on Epigraphy to have been engraved either on detached stones (slabs) or on stones built into a more modern wall (stone built into the wall).

D) Some inscriptions are engraved on Pallava temples that bear some ancient inscriptions of the *Siṃhavishṇu* dynasty.

Inscriptions 68 of 1900 and 49 of 1905 are engraved on the caves of *Śīyamaṅgalam* and *Dalavānūr*, which we have attributed in Vol. I of “*Pallava Antiquities*” to king *Mahēndravarmān I* of the dynasty of *Siṃhavishṇu*.

We have spoken in page 44 of “*The Pallavas*” of the *Śiva* temple at *Kuram* and attributed its foundation to king *Paramēśvaravarman I*. This temple was therefore in existence when inscriptions Nos. 37 and 38 of 1900 were engraved during the reigns of *Nandivarman* and *Nṛipatuṅga*.

Inscriptions 35 and 36 of 1903 are found at the entrance to the sanctuary of *Vīraṭṭaṇṇēśvara* temple at *Tiruvadi*; in page 46 of our work, “*The Pallavas*,” we have said that this temple which contains an inscription of *Paramēśvaravarman* could be attributed to *Paramēśvaravarman II* of the dynasty of *Siṃhavishṇu*.

E) In certain temples we find inscriptions of the *Nandivarman* dynasty, written in ancient characters, which give no information at all concerning the building of the monuments bearing them. Such are : 84 of

1892 ; 14 of 1893 ; 17 and 52 of 1895 ; 51, 61, 64, 65, 72, 74, 80, 81, 82 and 83 of 1898 ; 33 and 35 of 1900 ; 283, 300, 301 and 303 of 1901 ; 220, 277 and 278 of 1902 ; 404, and 406 of 1905 ; 347 and 348 of 1914.

None of the monuments containing these inscriptions can be—strictly speaking—taken as types of the art during the epoch of the dynasty of Nandivarman, as the building of the temple is not mentioned in the inscription. However, some of these temples are built by the Pallavas and we must say a few words about them.

I visited the Jain temple of Rishabanâtha at Perumandûr (near Tindivanam—South Arcot District), from which, inscription No. 220 of 1902 has been copied. Though I searched, I have not been able to find any trace of Pallava style in this place.

I went to Uttaramallûr (15 miles west of Chingleput) where there are two temples containing Pallava inscriptions. The temple of Vaikuntha Perumal, with its 9 Pallava inscriptions (Nos. 61, 64, 65, 72, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83 of 1898), first attracts our attention. Unfortunately, this temple is not at all interesting from an architectural point of view. A portion of the temple has been rebuilt and the old walls that remain are but the basements without any style.

The temple of Sundaravarada-Perumal that contains but one inscription (No. 51 of 1898) is much more interesting and can surely be classed among the Pallava temples. Unfortunately, most of the buildings are made of brick and covered with lime.

The temple of Kôvilâdi, between Tanjore and Trichinopoly, in which inscriptions Nos. 283, 300, 301 and 303 of 1901 are engraved, is in ruins.

The temple of Kîlur (suburb of Tirukoilur) which contained inscriptions Nos. 277 and 278 of 1902 was completely rebuilt about 10 years ago. When I visited this place, I found the remains of this ancient temple lying on the banks of the Pennar and, from the scattered stones, I was able to ascertain that it was a very fine temple that had been destroyed.

The Muktêśvara temple at Conjeevaram which contains an inscription of Nandivarman (No. 14 of 1893) probably belongs to the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The style of it which can be discerned from plates XVIII and XIX of Mr. A. Rea's "Pallava Architecture" resembles that of the temples of Râjasimha and we may affirm that this monument belongs to the first half of the VIII century.

Mr. A. Rea has said in page 46 of his "Pallava Architecture" that the Perumâl temple at Kûram is « a very doubtful specimen, and, if in reality Pallava, must be one of the very latest examples ». I do not think so: the temple of Kêsavaperumâl at Kûram is certainly in the style of Râjasimha: besides, there is on the southern side of it, an inscription (No. 35 of 1900) dated in the 12th year of the reign of Dantivarman and there is no doubt that this temple belongs to the second half of the VIII century. A plan of this temple is given in Plate CXXI of Mr. A. Rea's "Pallava Architecture". Inscription No. 33 of 1900 was engraved in this temple at the time of Nripatunga.

The rock-cut temple at Kunnânḍâr Koil (Pudukottai State) which contains inscriptions Nos. 346, 347 and 348 of 1914 probably belongs to the VIII century.

I have visited the rock-cut shrine enclosed in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvellarai which bears inscription

No. 537 of 1905 on one of its pillars. It is left unfinished and is not interesting.

In "Pallava Antiquities" Vol. I., I have spoken about the Matangêśvara temple at Kâñchîpuram. This temple « which belongs to the style of Râjasimha (*Vide* » Pallava Architecture, by Alexander Rea, Madras, » 1909), can be ascribed to the end of the VIII century. » It must be specially mentioned that the temple of » Matangêśvara contains dvârapâlas having four hands » (*Vide* A. Rea : Pallava Architecture, Pl. XLV.) We » have already said that the dvârapâlas of the Pallava » period have only two hands. This exception seems » to prove that the temple of Matangêśvara belongs to » the end of the Pallava period.»

In the course of this year (1917), I discovered an inscription which has not been mentioned by any one till now.

The inscription is on one of the two pillars which are inside the temple.

I read the word: श्री अरत्यकन Śrî Aratyakana in Pallava-Grantha characters. The letters are so formed that we may say that the inscription belongs to the VIII century. So, we must attribute the Matangêśvara temple at Kâñchîpuram to king Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

F) There are only three temples that contain inscriptions which show plainly that they have been built in the period of the dynasty of Nandivarman.

They are :

1° The Śiva temple at Malayadippatti (Pudukkôttai State) which was cut in the rock in the 16th year of the reign of Dantivarman (Journal of the South Indian

Association, July 1911, Vol. II, No. 1, page 22, Some inscriptions of the Muttaraiyars, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao—inscriptions Nos. III and IV).

2° The Śiva temple at Nārthâmalai (Pudukkôttai State) which was cut in the rock in the 7th year of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga (insc. No. 365 of 1904).

3° The temple of Vīraṭṭaṇṇêśvara at Tiruttani which was built by Nambi Appi, a contemporary of the Pallava king, Aparâjita (insc. Nos. 433 and 435 of 1905).

The Śiva temple at Malayadippatti is a small rock-cut temple containing two cubical pillars at the façade, a verandah and a sanctuary with a liṅgam in it.

The Śiva temple at Nārthâmalai is in ruins.

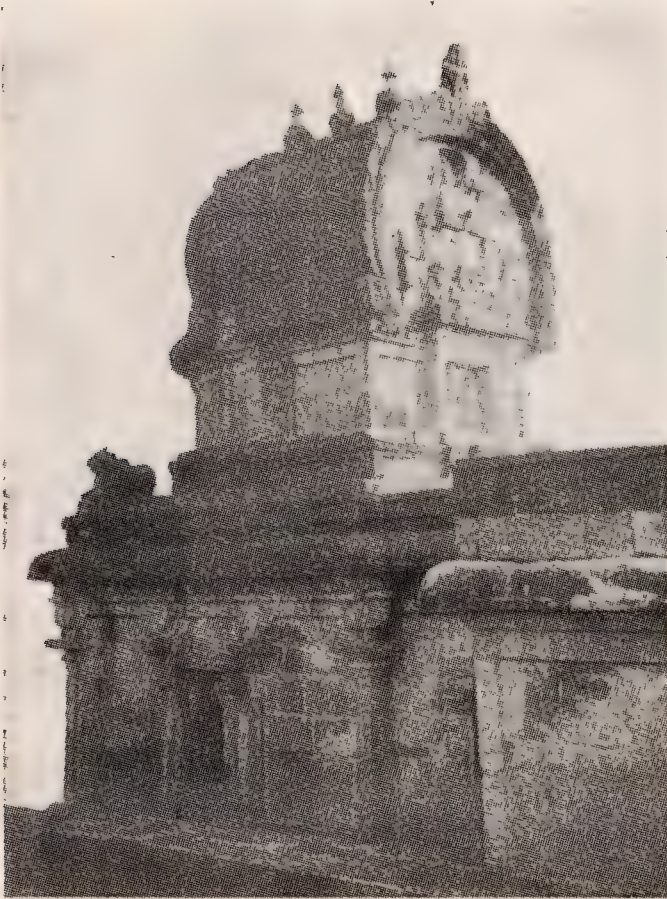
We shall not now make a special study of the temples of Malayadippatti and Nārthâmalai for the following reasons:

a) Strictly speaking, these monuments are not the work of the Pallavas, but, of the Muttaraiyars who chose to depend on the Pallavas or the Pāṇdyas according to the freaks of the politics of the day.

b) These caves belong, by their architecture, to the group of caves dug under the initiative of the Pāṇḍya kings. [For instance, we know that the Aṇṇamalai cave was dug in 769 during the reign of the Pāṇḍya king, Jatila Parantaka.]

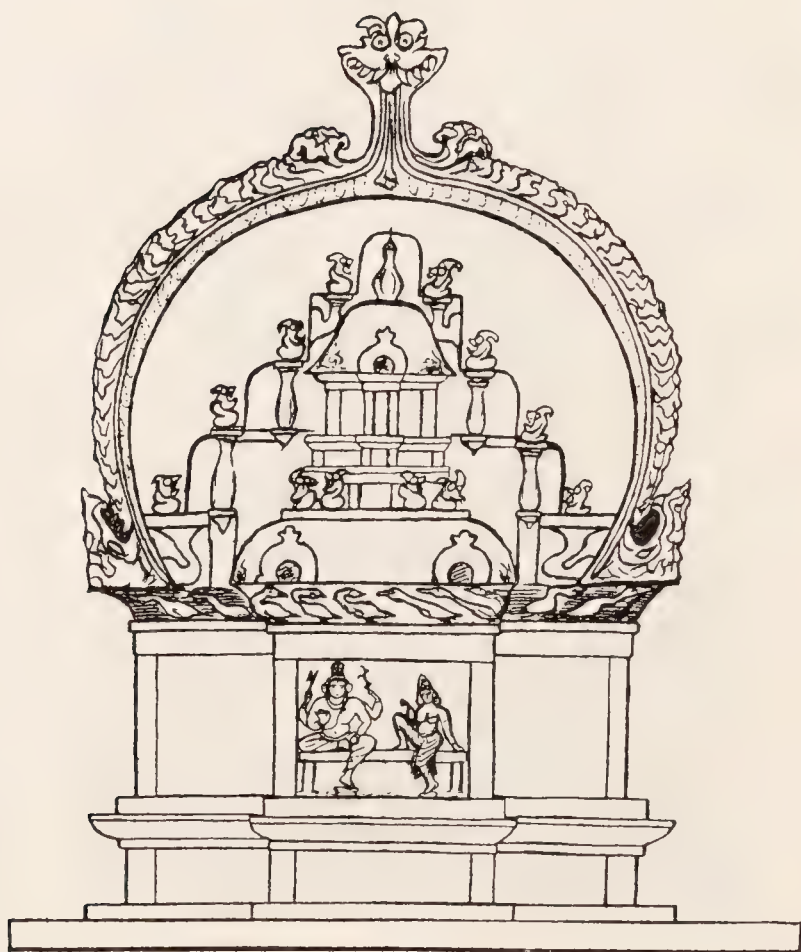
M. R. Ry. K. Venkatarangam, curator of the Pudukkôttai museum, intends to give in his Bulletin a detailed description of these temples.

We shall therefore take up now for our study only one temple, that of Aparâjita at Tiruttani, which, as we shall see, is highly interesting.



The Virattanêsvara temple at Tiruttani.

Plate II.



Upper part of the façade of the pallava temple at Tiruttani.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEMPLE OF VÎRATTANĒSVARA AT TIRUTTANI.

The inscription No. 433 of 1905 engraved on the southern wall of the “vimâna” of Vîrattanêśvara temple at Tiruttani is a Tamil verse (Venbâ) which says that the temple in question was built of granite by a certain Nambi-Appi. The verse is said to have been composed by the king whose name is not given; but inscription No. 435 of 1905 engraved on the same wall mentions a donation made to the temple by the same Nambi-Appi in the 18th year of the reign of Aparâjita Vikramavarman (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, Part II, No. 8, page 64). It must also be said that the two inscriptions (Nos. 433 and 435) are written in the same alphabet which is that of the end of the IX century.

We know for certain the date of the reign of Aparâjita, as the Udayendiram plates (*G. O.* No. 492, 2nd July 1906, page 64) say that this king was the ally of Pṛithivîpathi I. against Varaguṇa Pâṇḍya about the year 879; besides, we learn from the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates (Report for 1906, page 65) that the Chôḷa king Âditya I, having defeated Aparâjita, seized the Pallava empire, and we also know that this conquest was made before A.D. 900. We may therefore affirm that the temple of Vîrattanêśvara at Tiruttani was built in the last quarter of the IX century.

The inscriptions in the temple were copied by M.R.Ry. K. V. Subrahmaniya Aiyar about the end of August 1905, and V Venkayya has given an account of them in his report on Epigraphy for 1905-06. But, while the historical importance of the inscriptions at Tiruttani has been known for the last twelve years, the importance of the temple from an architectural point of view has been completely ignored up to the present day.

The report on Epigraphy says nothing about this style of architecture. No photographs of the temple have been taken either by the Epigraphical or the Archæological Department. No one has spoken in any work about the architecture of this temple. Lastly, even in the list of ancient monuments preserved by the Archæological Department, we do not find any mention of the temple of Vīrattanêśvara.

Now we have to solve the following question : Is the present temple the same as the one built by Nambi-Appi at the time of Aparâjita ? Has it lasted a thousand years without undergoing any alteration or repair ?

To be able to answer this question, I went to Tiruttani in January 1917, and discovered that the present temple has remained marvellously intact and that, from top to bottom, it has not undergone any repair ; being built entirely of granite, it has successfully resisted the ravages of centuries and appears to be almost new, though from the details of its architecture and ornamentation, we recognise it to be an excellent type of Pallava Art.

This temple is the only specimen we have of a Pallava monument belonging to the end of the IX century whose architectural style is excellent and whose age has been correctly fixed by the inscriptions.



The Pallava temple at Tiruttani. (Northern side.)

Plate IV.



Image of Kâli, on the northern side of the pallava temple at Tiruttani.

I therefore propose to take the temple of Vīratṭa-nêśvara at Tiruttani as the type of a temple belonging to the end of the Pallava period.

It is very easy to visit the Pallava temple at Tiruttani. This town is a station on the railway line between Arkonam and Renigunta. It is the first station after Arkonam from where it can be reached in a few minutes. There may be some difficulty in finding this Pallava temple as it is one of the most modest of all the temples there. Our temple is to the east of the railway station. At a short distance to the east of the station, there is a small river and the temple stands amidst trees on the other side of the river.

The plan of the temple is very simple. It is a vimâna $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards square, in the middle of which there is a chamber (Garbhagraham) containing the liṅgam. This chamber has no windows but has only one doorway facing east.

In front of this doorway there is a small maṇḍapam without windows but with a door on the east side.

Thus, the temple is so placed that the entrance faces the rising sun.

The base of the vimâna is square, but the upper portion presents a peculiarity which M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has described (Five Bâna Inscriptions at Gudimallam, *Indian Antiquary*, 1911) under the name of "Gajapriṣthâkṛiti shape".

In other words, the upper portion is apsidal and its form recalls to our mind the Sahadeva Ratha at Mahâ-balipuram.

I request the reader to compare Plate I of this book with figure 193 in "*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Ferguson and Burgess" 1910 Edition,

vol. I, page 337. It will be found that the upper portion of the Tiruttani temple resembles very much the Sahâdêva Ratha at Mahâbalipuram. I must also state that the stone elephant found in the midst of the Rathas of Mahâbalipuram is placed close to Sahâdêva Ratha in such a manner that it would appear that the Pallava sculptors of Mahâbalipuram wanted to draw the attention of the on-lookers to the elephantine form of the Ratha.

We have said in our work "*The Pallavas*" (page 45) that the Śiva temple at Kûram which was built in the reign of Paramêśvaravarman I. is also apsidal in form.

Burgess (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. I, edition of 1910, pages 127 and 336) has shown that this form was copied from that of the Buddhist Chaityas which are also apsidal in shape. Some of these Chaityas have been adapted to the cult of the liṅgam on account of the resemblance between the Buddhist dâgoba and the liṅgam. That is why the apsidal temples are a speciality of the cult of the liṅgam as has been observed by M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in the above mentioned article.

The temple of Kapôtêśvara at Chezarla is an example of the adaptation of the Chaityas to the cult of the liṅgam. If we bear in mind that Chezarla (Chêjerla) is in the Narasaraopet Taluq of the Guntur district, the same Taluq in which have been discovered the plates of Maidavôlu, Darśi, Narasaraopet, that is, in the centre of the Pallava kingdom, it would appear quite natural that the Pallavas should adopt this kind of architecture.

The façade of the Chaityas is ornamented with gables having the form of a horse-shoe (horse-shoe-shaped façade) which is well known to the archæologists. At

Tiruttani, we find (*vide* Plate II) a similar horse-shoe ; only the upper portion is different : instead of the shovel-head of the Kûdus of Mahâbalipuram we find the huge head of a lion (Simha).

As at Mahâbalipuram, the central portion contains an edifice ; the one at Tiruttani contains an image (*vide* Plate II) of Śiva and Parvati which reminds us of the images of Somaskanda which became so numerous during the time of Râjasimha.

Thus the upper portion of the Tiruttani temple is a very curious and interesting piece of architecture.

The lower portion also presents a character which is completely peculiar to the Pallava style : the corbels which are above the capitals have a curved profile. I have said in my "*Dravidian Architecture*," page 28 : "It is necessary, however, to remark that the circular form (No. 2 of fig. 20) was peculiar to the Pallava epoch."

We see that we were quite right in saying so, since we find that Aparâjita's temple at Tiruttani which belongs to the end of the Pallava period still contains corbels having a curved profile.

Plate V is intended to draw the attention of the reader to this important *motif* of ornamentation which is not so well seen in Plates III and IV. The corbel at Tiruttani, *vide* Plate V, No. II, is absolutely identical with that of the temple of Râjasimha at Panamalai (*vide* *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. I, Plate III.)

It is necessary to insist on the great importance of this detail, for, this curved form of the corbel seems to disappear with the Pallava dynasty and all the "Early Chôla" temples have angular corbels similar to the one we have represented in fig. 27 of "*Dravidian Architecture*"

The Kûdu at Tiruttani has not the shovel-head which is found in the most ancient Pallava temples, but we see, in its place, the head of a lion.

Lastly, it must also be said that we do not find anywhere the rearing lions that characterise the art of Râjasimha.

From an iconographical point of view the Vîratânêśvara temple at Tiruttani presents certain peculiarities.

The sanctuary contains a liṅgam which is not prismatic and in the wall, at the back of the sanctuary, there is no image of Somaskanda.

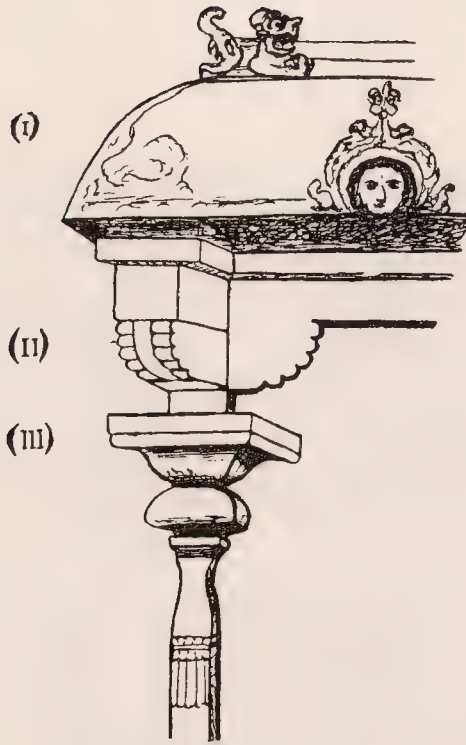
Plate VI, which is the reproduction of a photograph taken with magnesium light, will enable us to see distinctly the liṅgam and the back of the sanctuary in the temple at Tiruttani.

The two Dvârapâlas on each side of the entrance (*vide* also Pl. VI) have an extremely characteristic pose which recalls to our mind the poses of the glorious epoch of the Pallavas; they have, however, unlike all others, four arms.

The four walls of the Vimâna are adorned with niches containing statues: In the south, Dakṣiṇâmûrti; in the west, Viṣṇu; in the north, Brahmâ. Besides this, the small maṇḍapam which forms an antechamber at the entrance of the temple is ornamented in the south with a niche containing Ganêśa and in the north with one containing Kâli.

Plates IV, VII and VIII show the form of these statues.

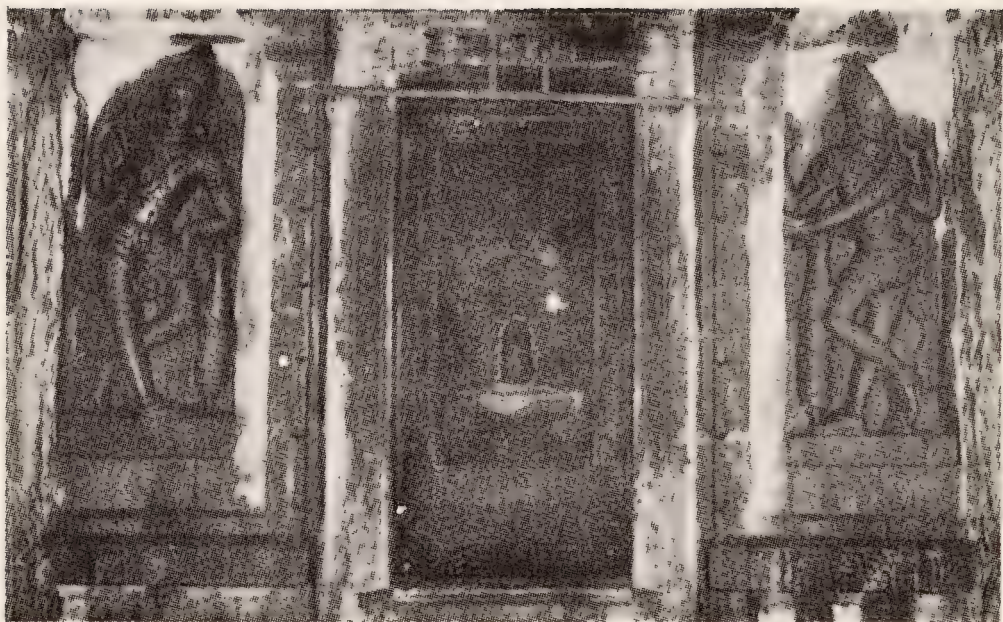
The image of Dakṣiṇâmûrti (Plate VII) is absolutely identical with the one that M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has described in Vol. II, Part I,



Pallava style at Tiruttani :

- (I) The larmier (Kabôdam);
- (II) The corbel.
- (III) The abacus (Palagi).

Plate VI.



Dvârapâlas at Tiruttani. (Virattanesvara temple.)

pages 282 and 283 of his book in the following terms :

« Fig. 2, Plate LXXIV is the photograph of the » figure of Dakshināmūrti found in Kāvêripakkam » and belongs to the Pallava period. Herein, the deity » has on his head heavy curls of hair constituting » the jatâbhâra; he carries the akshamâlâ in his back » right hand, agni (?) in the back left hand, and a » book in the front left hand; the front right hand » is held in the Vyâkhyâna-mudrâ pose. The right » leg is hanging below the seat, while the left one is » kept bent in the utkutikâsana posture. Round the » neck are two hârâs (necklaces) on the chest, the » Yajñopavîta and in one ear a vṛittakuṇḍala; the » other ear wears no ornament. Below the seat are to » be seen a deer and a cobra listening to his discourse.»

Relying on the form of the statue, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that it “belongs to the Pallava period” and this supposition is now confirmed by a study of the temple built by Aparâjita at Tiruttani.

The image of Vishṇu is distinguished by his insignia of Śaṅkha and Chakra which are ornamented with flames of fire. We know that these flames were introduced in iconography only at the time of Râjasimha (vide *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. I, page 58). At Tiruttani, the Chakra of Vishṇu has the form of a cube and not that of a wheel. This curious sort of Chakra is found in Tondai-maṇḍalam in most of the temples built in the X century.

The image of Brahmâ presents a very remarkable peculiarity. The Brahmanical cord (Yajñopavîta) does not fall on the right hip but passes over the right arm. The same peculiarity is seen in the images of Vishṇu and the Dvârapâlakas; but this detail is almost

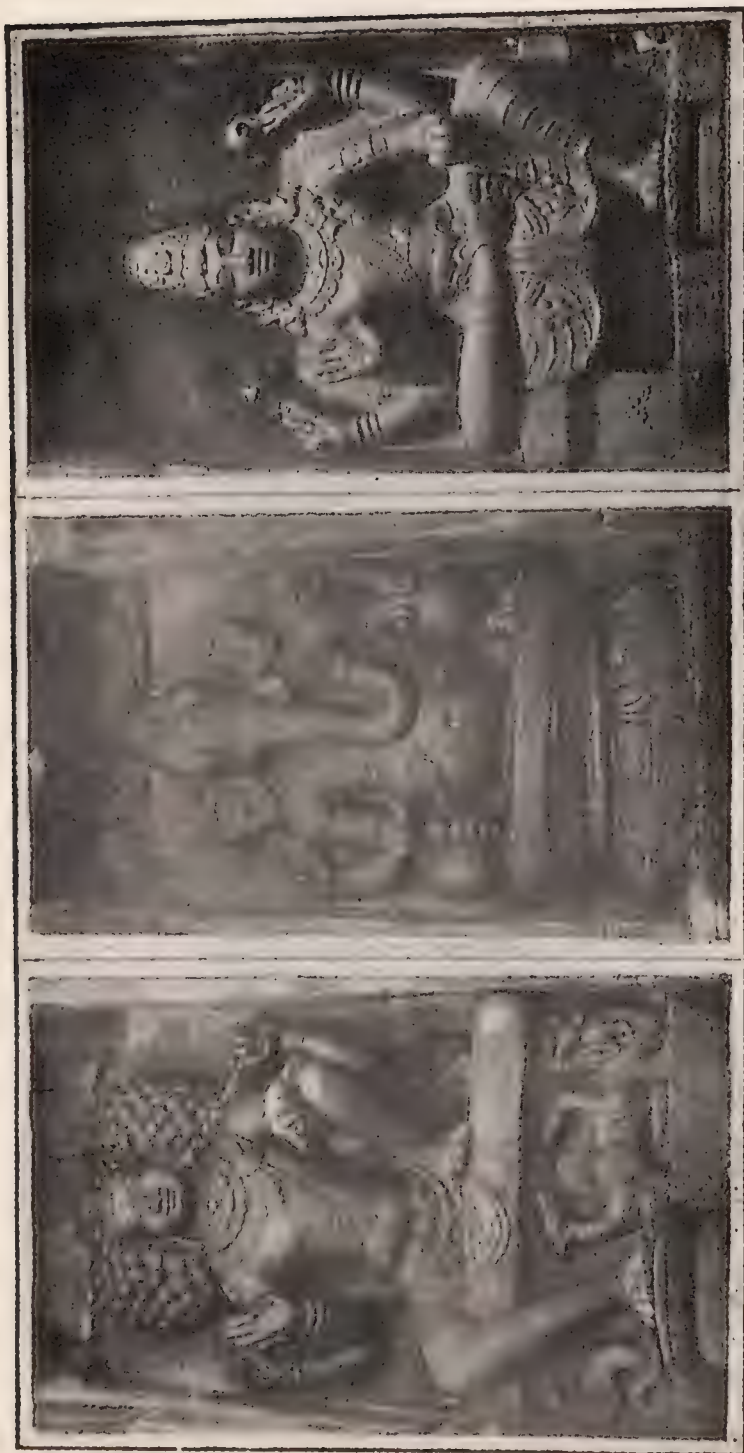
invisible in Plates VI and VII; on the contrary, in Plate VIII which represents Brahmâ, we see very well the Yajñôpavîta passing over the right arm. This peculiarity is a characteristic sign of archaism. It is frequently met with in ancient sculptures.

If the reader looks at fig. B of Plate XXVI of Vol. I of *Pallava Antiquities*, he will find there a Dvârapâla of the cave at Tirukkalukkunram. This Dvârapâla holds up his right arm and we see very clearly the Yajñôpavîta placed over this arm. In Plate XXVIII we see very well the Yajñôpavîta of the right Dvârapâla in the rock-cut temple at Mandagapattu thrown over his right arm. Thus, then, this mode existed even at the time of Aparâjita, i.e., about 880. It completely disappeared afterwards.

Kâli (*vide* Plate IV) bears the Śaṅka and Chakra which are identical with those we have just described in connection with Vishṇu.

We believe we have proved by what has been said above that the temple of Virattanêsvara at Tiruttani is extremely interesting owing to its architecture as well as its iconography. From it, we obtain a correct knowledge of Pallava Art as it existed a little before the conquest of Tondai-maṇḍalam by Aditya Chôla.

We have said at the beginning of this chapter that king Aparâjita composed the Tamil verse that commemorates the building of this temple by Nambi-Appi. The Tiruttani temple was thus built under the patronage of the Pallava king and also inaugurated by him. I therefore think of giving the name of the last of the Pallavas to the last style of Pallava architecture and therefore call the style of the Tiruttani temple "the style of Aparâjita."



(I) Śiva.

(II) Ganeśha.

(III) Vishnu.

Images on the southern and western side of the pallava temple at Tiruttani.

Plate VIII.



Brahma.

(Tiruttani.—Northern side of the pallava temple.)

CONCLUSION.

It is now possible for us to give the history of South Indian Art from the remotest times to the tenth century.

The art of writing was known from the time of Aśôka, as the caverns in the province of Madura, which were occupied by Buddhist and Jain monks, contain inscriptions in Brahmi written in the same Alphabet as those of Aśôka. The beds of the Pâṇḍavas, which are seen in such large numbers in the Gingee hills, belong probably to this epoch. In this connection, I would mention some antiquities of this kind which I have not seen mentioned in any other book. In the enclosure of the Jain temple of Appandanandar at Tirunirankonrai, 12 miles south-east of Tirukkôyi-lûr, there is a very curious cavern which contains very remarkable beds.

Śivaism flourished at the same time, as is proved by the remarkable lingam discovered by M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao at Gudimallam (*Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Vol. II, Part I, Plates II, III, IV and V), which probably belongs to the period anterior to the Christian era.

I do not think it necessary to recount here the story of King Chenkuttuvan, who built a temple for Kannagi, probably in the second century after Christ. If we bear in mind that there was, at this epoch, a temple of Augustus on the Malabar Coast and that the sculptures of Ceylon and Amaravati were all Roman in workmanship, we may suppose that the statues of this

period—perhaps even the statue of Kannagi, which under the orders of Chenkuttuvan was made of a piece of stone brought from Northern India — were made of white marble and in the Roman style. M. R. Ry. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has, besides, discovered, in the innermost prakaram of the Kamatchiamman temple at Kāñchîpuram, a statue of Buddha, which is in what is called the “Græco-Buddhist” style and which probably belongs to the second or the third century (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, Part DLVII, June 1915).

Be that as it may, we may say that, up to the end of the VI century, South India, which possessed already a very ancient and splendid civilisation, did not yet see the birth of its art. The temples were built of materials which were not durable, and the artists did not at all care to make stone carvings to honour their gods: and there are no antiquities belonging to this epoch.

The birth of this art took place during the reign of the Pallava Kings of the dynasty of Siṃhavishṇu, for reasons which we shall now explain.

There was a great revival of letters and arts in Northern India towards the fifth century. The renaissance of the sculptural art manifested itself in the form of rock-cut temples. It was because Buddhism with the doctrine of Mahayana was still in the plenitude of its power and the monks have always had the habit of excavating their monasteries on the side of the mountains.

It is at this time that the rock of Ajañtâ—which for a long time had been dug in by the Buddhists—was embellished with new hypogeums which display all the luxury of decoration which is a wonder to modern

archæologists. We owe these works to the princes of the dynasty of Vākātakas. Inscriptions Nos. 622 and 624 in Keilhorn's list published in the report on the "Archæological Survey of Western India," IV, pp. 124 and 129, show that the caves Nos. 16 and 17 of Ajantā were dug during the reign of Harisheṇa of the Vākātaka dynasty. For information about this dynasty we must read Vincent A. Smith's excellent article on "The Vākātaka dynasty of Berar in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.", which is published in "The journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1914." In it the author has proved that King Harisheṇa reigned from about 465 to 500. The Ajantā inscriptions show that Harisheṇa extended his conquests over the following countries: Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūta, Lāta and Āndhra. Mr. Vincent A. Smith has proved (page 330) that Kuntala comprised North Mysore, Chitaldrug and Bellary; Kalinga is the well-known province to the north of the Godavery by the Bay of Bengal.

Thus we learn from the Ajantā inscriptions that the king who dug the caves Nos. 16 and 17 extended his conquests over a part of the Telugu country not far from the mouth of the Godavery and the Krishṇā.

The Vishṇukunḍins reigned over the kingdom of Vengi which was between these two rivers. Their capital was Lenduḷūru, now Dendulūru, which is a suburb of the town of Vengi. The Chikkula plates (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, No. 25, p. 195) say that the Vishṇukunḍins reigned on the banks of the Krishṇā. They also say that the birth of King Vikramēndravarman I. "was embellished by the two families of the Vishṇukunḍins and Vākātakas," that is to say, that the mother of the

Vishṇukunḍin King Vikramêndravarman I. was a Vâkâtaka princess. I shall here bring forward a proposition, which, I think, I am the first to do, and which will throw much light on the chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins: "The king Mâdhavavarman married toward the year 500 A.D. the daughter of Harisena and begot a son Vikramêndravarman I." This proposition is rendered highly probable by the fact that the Vâkâtakas reigned in Berar and that only Harisena who made conquests in the Deckan could have had relations with the Vishṇukunḍins who reigned near Bezwada. I think we can settle the chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins from that time as follows:

Mâdhavavarman (about 500)
|
Vikramêndravarman I. (about 530)
|
Indrabhattâarakavarman (about 560)
|
Vikramêndravarman II. (about 590)

If therefore we find caves cut in the rocks on the banks of the Krishnâ, at Bezwada, Mogulrazapuram, Sittanagaram, Undavalli, there is nothing wonderful about it, since we now know that the Vishṇukunḍins who reigned in this region were related to the Vâkâtakas who reigned at Ajantâ.

I do not think it necessary to repeat here what I have said in Chapter III of my work, "The Pallavas." When visiting the caves of Undavalli, I made the important discovery that their style was identical with the one that I have described in Vol. I. of "Pallava Antiquities" under the name of "The Style of Mahêndra." Besides, I have said that the presence, in the caves of Trichinopoly and Pallâvaram, of names of Telugu origin proves that their author Mahêndra-

varman I. was a native of the Telugu Country. The Vâyālûr inscription shows, in fact, that Mahêndra-varman I. was the grandson of Vishṇugôpa of the Chûra plates, who reigned at Palakkada, that is to say, in the Telugu Country to the south of the Krishnâ. The same inscription also shows that Mahêndra-varman I. is the first king of that name, and from that we have come to the conclusion that the mother of Mahêndravarman I. was a Vishṇukunḍin princess.

I believe that I have now explained how it is that, all of a sudden, at the beginning of the VII century, there spread in the Tamil Country the novel fashion of cutting caves in the rocks. The Pallava art came into existence from that circumstance.

The study that we have made in the first two volumes of "Pallava Antiquities" enables us to divide the history of Pallava Art into four periods of style of unequal duration :

- (1) The style of Mahêndra, from 610 to 640.
- (2) The style of Mâmalla, from 640 to 674.
- (3) The style of Râjasimha, from 674 to 800.
- (4) The style of Aparâjita, from 800 to 900.

It is necessary, however, to specify that this division of the Pallava art into four different styles applies only to the country lying immediately round the capital, Kâñchi, *i.e.* to Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. If, in fact, we go farther from this region, for example, in the south, to the country between Tanjore and Pudukôttai, we do not find an exactly similar kind of evolution. This country over which the Muttaraiyars reigned has been under the influence of the Pâṇḍyas and the Chôḷas.

In the account that follows, we shall speak only of the architecture in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam.

1° *The Style of Mahendra.*

The discovery of the work called *Mattavilâsaprahasana* (Trivandram Sanskrit Series, No LV—edited by T. Ganapati Sâstri—Trivandram Government Press, 1917) and the discovery that this work is mentioned in the *Mâmaṇḍûr* inscriptions (see: “The Pallavas,” chap. IV, pages 38 and 39), have left no room to doubt that it was Mahêndravarman I, son of Simhavishṇu, that was the author of the caves found at Vallam, Mahêndravâdi, Dalavânur, Śiyamangalam and Pallavaram.

These caves, which are all of them situated in *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam*, are distinguished by 1° sanctuaries destitute of the image of Somaskanda, 2° circular liṅgams, 3° dvarapâlas of special forms, 4° double-arched Tiruvatchis (Toranas), and 5° cubical pillars; lastly, we have also to remark that they are all of them subterranean maṇḍapams.

2° *The Style of Mâmalla.*

We have proved (*Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, pages 57, 58, 59, 60) that the style of the Caves and the Rathas of Mahâbalipuram (*Mâmallapuram*) belongs exactly to the transition period between the styles of Mahendra and Râjasimha. Now that we are sure that this Mahendra is Mahêndravarman I, we can, without any hesitation, attribute the caves and rathas of Mahâbalipuram to the two kings that reigned between Mahêndravarman I. and Râjasimha; so, from an archæological point of view, we can be sure that the caves and the rathas of Mahâbalipuram were begun by Narasimhavarman I, surnamed Mâmalla, and continued by Paramêśvaravarman I. Most of these monuments

remain unfinished, it would appear, owing to the invasion of the Châlukyas in A.D. 674.

In the style of Mâmalla, we begin to see the image of Somaskanda at the back of the Śiva shrines. The Dvârapâlas do not have the same pose as at the epoch of Mahêndra. It seems that it was at the time of Narasiṃhavarman I. (Mâmalla) that the Pallava artists who dug the rocks at Mahâbalipuram invented the system of making pillars with lions squatting at the base. This *motif* of ornamentation is not found either in the caves near Bezvada or in those of Mahêndra. I think that this *motif* was invented at Mahâbalipuram about the year 640. It is remarkable that the temples of this epoch consist not only of subterranean maṇḍapams but also of rathas, which shows that they had already an outward form, an external architecture.

3° *The Style of Râjasimha.*

At the time of Râjasimha, the sculptors were not content with having squatting lions, but put up a large number of rearing lions on the buildings. Prismatic lingams placed in front of the image of Somaskanda are now found in the sanctuaries. The Tiruvatchis (Toranas) are single-arched. Rock-cut temples become rare; the temples of this epoch are built of pieces of stone placed above one another.

King Narasiṃhavarman I. built the temples of Airavâtêśvara (*vide* "The Pallavas," chap. IV, page 46) and Kailâsanatha at Kâñchîpuram, the shore temple at Mahâbalipuram and the temple at Panamalai. Paramêśvaravarman I. probably built the temple of Vîrattanêśvara at Tiruvadi (*vide* "The Pallavas," page 46,

Ch. IV, § VII) and of Vaikuntha Perumal at Kāñchīpuram.

It was probably Nandivarman Pallavamalla that built the temples of Mukṭêśvara (inscription No. 14 of 1893) and of Maṭaṅgêśvara (see Page 15 above) Kāñchīpuram.

The temple at Kûram was probably built in the 12th year of the reign of Dantivarman (No. 35 of 1900), a little before the year 800 and it must be remarked that this temple (vide *Pallava Architecture* by A. Rea, Plate CXXI), owing to its rearing lions, belongs also to the style of Râjasiṃha.

4° *The Style of Aparâjita.*

This style, which flourished in the second half of the IX century, is intermediate between the style of Râjasiṃha and that of the "Early Chôla."

The liṅgam is cylindrical; the sanctuary contains no image of Somaskanda; the Dvarapalakas have four arms; the kûdûs are surmounted with the head of a lion instead of the shovel-head of the ancient Pallava temples; there are no rearing lions at the base of the pillars. However, the corbels which are above the capitals have yet a circular profile and are exactly like those of the epoch of Râjasiṃha.

The monuments belonging to this period are very rare in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and, in spite of all the search we have made, we have been able to find but a single temple which certainly belongs to this period; it is the temple of Vîrattanêśvara that was built at Tîruttani, during the reign of Aparâjita, the last of the Pallavas.
